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Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 USBERL 01024 181701Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 ONY-00 SS-15 /028 W
----------181708Z 125120 /43
O R 181624Z APR 77
FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4395
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T USBERLIN 1024

STADIS//////////////////////////////////

BONN FOR AMBASSADOR STOESSEL
LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR ONLY

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GB, US, UK, FR
SUBJECT: FOUR POWER SUMMIT: DRAFT TEXT OF BERLIN DECLARATION

REF: (A) STATE 085699, (B) BONN 06592

1. PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF RECENT GDR ACTIONS AGAINST QUADRIPARTITE STATUS OF BERLIN AND SOVIET COMPLAINTS ABOUT ALLIED FLAG TOURS, MISSION WELCOMES EXCELLENT DRAFT FOR A BERLIN DECLARATION TO BE ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH FOUR POWER SUMMIT. IMPACT OF SUCH A STATEMENT ON BERLIN WILL BE HIGHLY FAVORABLE. I SHARE AMBASSADOR STOESSEL'S VIEWS IN REFTEL B, THAT SOME NEW ELEMENTS MAY HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE DRAFT ONCE WE HAVE BETTER ANALYZED SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW SOVIET DEMANDS THAT THE ALLIES CEASE SENDING FLAG TOURS TO EAST BERLIN.

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2. WE HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS TO MAKE ON DRAFT ITSELF:
A. IN PARAGRAPH 1-B OF REF A QUOTE AND BY OTHER DE-VELOPMENTS IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS UNQUOTE SEEMS A BIT OBSCURE IN THE BERLIN CONTEXT.
B. IN PARAGRAPH 1-D, WE WONDER WHETHER QUOTE PARTICULARLY IN THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN UNQUOTE IS REALLY NECESSARY. THE THOUGHT IS CONVEYED ANYWAY BY THE TERM

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QUOTE QUDRIPARTITE STATUS OF GREATER BERLIN UNQUOTE IN
THE NEXT SENTENCE.
C. IN PARAGRAPH E SUGGEST THAT THE DESIRE OF WEST
BERLINERS TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP WEST BERLIN'S TIES
TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY BE DIRECTLY CONNECTED
WITH THE TOUGHT THAT THIS TAKES PLACE IN ACCORDANCE
WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. WE AGREE WITH EMBASSY
BONN THAT THE TERM QUOTE SELF-DETERMINATION UNQUOTE IS
NOT REALLY FELEVANT TO BERLIN UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.
THE PARAGRAPH MIGHT READ: QUOTE THERE WAS AGREEMENT
AMONG PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING THAT THE WISH OF THE
RESIDENTS OF THE WESTERN SECOTRS TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP
THEIR TIES WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT MUST BE
RESPECTED. IN THIS REGARD THE THREE POWERS EXPRESSED
FULL APPROVAL OF THE EFFORTS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY TO ENSURE THAT THE WESTERN SECOTRS OF BERLIN
BENEFIT FROM ALL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE GENERAL SITUATION
IN EUROPE INCLUDING THOSE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CON-
FERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. UNQUOATE
D. WITH RESPECT TO PARAGRAPH F, YOU WILL BE AWARE THAT
MANY BERLINERS BELIEVE THE CHANCELLOR IS DOING TOO
LITTLE FOR THE ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING
OF THE CITY, OR THAT HE ATTACHES INORDINATE IMPORTANCE
TO ECONOMIC FOACTORS AS COMPARED TO OTHER ASPECTS OF
SUPPORT FOR BERLIN. HOWEVER, SOME INFORMED PERSONS
HERE SUCH AS SPANGENBERG SUPPORT STRONLY THE CHAN-
CELLOR'S PRAGMATIC APPROACH AND CONISDER IT MORE EF-
FECTIVE THAN THE RINGING DECLARATIONS OF AN EARLIER DAY.
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I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT THIS RENEWED EMPHASIS ON
ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE
PRESERVATION OF THE BERLIN SITUATION CAN ONLY BE HELPFUL
PROVIDED ONE REMEMBERS IT IS NOT THE ONLY SUCH ESSENTIAL
ELEMENT.
E. WITH RESPECT TO PARAGRAPH G, THE MIDDLE SENTENCE
COULD PERHAPS BE REPHRASED ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:
QUOTE THE FOUR GOVERNMENTS EXPRESS SATISFACTION AT
THE SUCCESS FO THEIR COOPERATION OVER 25 YEARS IN
MAINTAINING THE FREEDOM AND WELL-BEING OF BERLIN. UNQUOTE

3. THE DECLARATION DOES NOT COVER AN IMPORTANT SECONDARY
ELEMENT IN THE LONG-TERM FUTURE OF THE CITY, NAMELY
THE GROWTH OF ITS COOPERATION WITH THE SURROUNDING
COMMUNIST WORLD. AS YOU KNOW, THIS POINT REGULARLY
APPEARS IN SOVIET BLOC FORMULATIONS ON BERLIN BUT ALWAYS
IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EQUATE WEST BERLIN'S TIES WITH THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIS AND ITS TIES WITH THE FRG. WHILERTHE TIES ARE QUI
TE DIFFERENT IN NATURE, AND IMPORTANT

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ALTHOUGH NOT A CRITICAL ASPECT OF BERLIN'S WELL-BEING WILL NEVERTHELESS BE ITS ABILITY OR LACK THEREOF TO EXPAND ITS COMMERCIAL AND OTHER RELATIONS WITH THE GDR, USSR, POLAND, AND CZECKOSLOVAKIA. THIS THOUGHT COULD CONCEIVABLY BE INSERTED INTO PARAGRAPH E THROUGH SOME SUCH WORDING AS QUOTE THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING ALSO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE WIDE RANGE OF WEST BERLIN'S RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD WILL DEVELOP NORMALLY IN THE YEARS TO COME. UNQUOTE

4. FINALLY, I WOULD HOPE THAT THE DECLARATION COULD MAKE SOME REFERENCE, IF ONLY OBLIQUELY, TO THE FACT THAT THE WEST CONTINUES NOT TO ACCEPT THE BERLIN WALL AS A PERMANENT PART OF THE BERLIN LANDSCAPE. IT WOULD BE A SHAME NOT TO REGISTER THIS FACT AT A SUMMIT MEETING CONCENTRATING ON GERMANY AND BERLIN INVOLVING THE PAR-

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TICIPATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER FOR THE FIRST TIME. GEORGE

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